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O F T H E

Dangers of the Church,

Occasioned by the

M E M O R I A L

O F T H E

CHURCH of ENGLAND.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year, MDCCV.

Printed in the

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OF THE

Church of the Church

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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LONDON

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C H U R C H of *E N G L A N D*, &c.

IT has always been for the Honour and Advantage of the *Church of England*, that She has required a profound Respect to be paid by all Her Members, to those whom God has set over them both in *Church* and *State*.

It has been also the Character of all *Her* True Members, that they are not over ready to hearken to Stories handed about to the Disadvantage of those, to whom their *Church* has obliged them pay this Respect.

They are sensible in the first place, That Men in Power are very often Abused by Ill Tongues; not only their Actions more narrowly inspected, but many times more unjustly represented than other Mens.

And in the next place, That 'tis a very easie Task for a Man of tolerable Parts, thus to represent their Actions unjustly. And that there are Men that will do it, is as certain, as that there are either Ill-natur'd Men, and such as have been disappointed in their Aims, and have miss'd of the Favour of those that had it in their Power to Gratifie them; or such as hope to convince the Government, that they have Pens sharp

and keen enough to cut so deep, as to endanger the Ministry at least, unless they are taken off in time. Some weak *Governments* having bought off such sort of Turbulent Spirits by *Preferments*, has emboldened others of the same stamp, to play the like game over again, with the same hopes of Success.

That there are such a Crew of Men that hate the *Government*, or of broken desperate Fortunes, that want to be preferred by it, is as Credible, and ought to be taken as much for Granted, as that the *Government* is guilty of any Mismanagement.

There has been a mighty Clamour of late about the *Church*, and the *Government* it self has been accused, either bare-facedly, or by broad Insinuations of being in designs against *Her*. The *Clergy* have been much alarmed at this, and have been generally very zealous to set themselves against the Interest of such Men, as they thought the Court or their own Bishops Favoured.

The Design of Preserving the *Church* appear'd very Commendable, and by the Influence which the Cry of its dangers has had over the *Clergy*, it appears that those were not Impolitick that raised it.

Whether there are any designs to overthrow the *Church*, I will not pretend to determine, because I know not the Hearts of Men, nor the numbers of its Secret or Open Enemies. But the Publick Reasons that are given for the Jealousies and Suspicions of our *Governours*, either in *Church* and *State*, being disaffected to the *Church*, as the *Memorial* insinuates they are, not excepting the Q. Her Self as drawn into the design, every one has a right to Judge of; and for the Hearts and Affections of Men, others also may pretend to know as much of them, as the *Memorial*.

It must be confess'd, That there was hardly ever a greater Cry of the Dangers of the *Church*, than there has been of late, and is at present amongst us. And yet 'tis as certain, that in no *Reign* since the *Church of England* was Reformed from its Abuses and Corruptions, and restored to its Antient Rights, have there been less Occasions given for such Complaints than in the Present.

The Ends and Reasons of Insufing such Jealousies into the Minds of People, are not very unaccountable; but 'tis very amazing, that the Delusion should be so very prevailing, and that any People with their Eyes open, should be so fatally misled.

But the greatest Difficulty of all to be solved, is, How the *Clergy* came to be persuaded that some Men that are not over constant attendants on the Service of the *Church*, are Truer Friends to it, than others, that never forsook the *Church* upon any Occasion; and to be led away by a noise for the *Church*, rather than by the Considerations of real Services done to it. Especially since the *Clergy* can't be ignorant, That such a Cry has very often been made without any manner of grounds, against Men that have not given any suspicion of their disaffection to the *Church*;

and

and will always be made, when Ill-designing Men can hope for any Advantage by it.

I shall pass over the Characters of those that have been most employ'd, to Complain of the Dangers to which the Church is expos'd, and to separate the Firm Friends of the Church from the Secret Enemies of it. For I am not so weak as to think, That the multitude of Lies and Forgeries that have been charged and proved upon L——, D——ke, and F——n, the Great Advocates at present in the Church's Cause, can at all prejudice their Credit in this Dispute. While they Write and Plead for the Church, their Authority must and will be Sacred with some Men; tho' it should be made appear never so clearly, that they can have no designs to serve the Church of England, because 'tis hard to prove they are of it; that they can have no fixt Principles, because some will say, That they have never espoused any Principles violently, but such as they have once as violently opposed, as Mr. L——y can testify, concerning his Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*; and are equally zealous for Truth or Falshood, as either appear to be for their Interest. But let the Characters of these Men be what they please, their Authority sometimes may be Good, and no doubt a great number of the Clergy think it so, especially where they express a Zeal for the Church, or else they would not so readily rely upon it. For according as these Men pronounce, and some warm Gentlemen of the U——ty their Pupils, a large part of the Clergy very Implicitly believe. Whether the Evidence ought to weigh so strongly with them, may be a Question, but that they have no better Evidence than what these Men or their under Agents, have produced, can be none.

But laying Authorities aside, and to say no more of the Credibility of the Vouchers, let us Examine the Matters of Fact, and the appearance of Danger of the C——b of E——d upon which these Jealousies are raised in the Heads of the Clergy, and such an Out-cry made, as if we may believe the Memorial, the Party can hardly abstain from Rebellion. We are told there, That the Principles of the C——b of E——d will dispose Men to bear a great deal; but he's a Mad-man that tries how much. For when Men are very much provok'd, Nature is very apt to Rebel against Principle, and then the odds are vast on Nature's side. Whether the Provocation given to the Ch——ch of E——d may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse Nature, some of our Statesmen would do well to Consider in Time. These are big Words, but I fancy the Party is so wise as to go no farther. Other People have Natures that are capable of being roused too: Patience and Clemency have bounds as well as other Vertues, and perhaps they may be found the Madmen in the Issue, that are for trying how long, and how far they will bear. Never was any Government more Gentle and Merciful than the Present, tho' there have not been Reasons wanting to move it to Severity, nor Power to execute it. But They would do well to Consider, that are thus loud-ly.

ly Mutinying, upon the least Provocations that were ever given to any People, that it is not safe for any *Government* to suffer it self to be long Abused and Affronted; and that it may be necessary to secure it self at the Peril of those that give the *Alarm*. Nor is it to be expected, that it should bear long to be thus used, and see a *Party*, that 'tis notoriously visible, seek its Ruin, working up the People, by down-right Falshoods, and *Seditious Libels*, into a *Rebellion*.

But who are they of the *C. of E.* that are thus Provok'd, and what are the Causes given them for Complaint?

At the beginning of this *Happy Reign*, it was the Ambition of every one that Loved the *Church*, to express the most Grateful Sense he was able of *Her Majesty's* known Zeal and Affection to it, and to acknowledge with almost equal Joy and Thankfulness, Her great Prudence, in appointing such a *General* to Lead Her Armies, and such a *Treasurer* to Manage Her Revenues, as had distinguish'd themselves as Eminently upon all Occasions by their Concern for the *Church*, as by their unquestioned Abilities for their *Respective Posts*.

Her Most *Excellent Majesty* has with the same Zeal and Firmness continued Constant and Uniform in the Interest of the *Church*; and Her *Great Ministers*, besides the Honour and Credit they have brought to the *English Nation*, the one by His Valour and Conduct Abroad, and the Other by the Wise Discharge of his Great Trust at Home, have preserved Their Character of being Entirely in the Interest of the *Church*, among all Disinterested Persons, that have not ask'd for *Places*, nor have been disappointed in their Expectations of any.

There have been no Alterations of any kind, either made, or attempted to be made in the *Liturgy*, or any part of the *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, since *Her Majesty's* Accession to the Crown.

So that the *Church* has not lost so much as one of Her *Ceremonies*; and those of Her Members, that it is most for Her Interest and Security to keep, have not in the least receded from Her Communion.

As for the *Revenues* of the *Church*, they are so far from being diminished in any one *Branch* of them, that Her Majesty out of Her Grace and Favour, has parted with some of Her own *Revenue* to add largely to those of the *Church*, beyond the Example of any of Her Royal Predecessors.

But after all these marks of Zeal for the *Church*, there is a mighty Clamour among too many of the *Clergy*, (as well as *Laity*, who are the more pardonable, because they are less suppos'd to know the Interest of the *Church*) of want of Affection to the *Church* in the Government. It is the Topick the *Memorial* raves and rails plentifully upon, to the Satisfaction, and 'tis hoped perhaps to the Advantage of its *Friends*. For if they can't be loved, they may be feared; and that may turn in the end to as good an account.

But

But how does this want of Affection to the *Church* appear? how has the *Government* discover'd its neglect of the *Church's* Honour and Interest?

The *Memorial* tells us in almost every Page, That Men disaffected to the *Church* are put into Places, and others of known Zeal to Her turn'd out and discarded. A Party that seeks the Ruin of the *Church*, is Caressed and Courted at the *Expence of Her Best and Truest Friends*.

These *Places* stick much in their Heads, and if they could get them all into their Hands, I am afraid the poor *Church* would be least of all in their Hearts. Whether Railing be the way to *Places*, I can't assure those Authors, but if it be, they need not fear their Title to some of the best in the Kingdom.

But who are these Enemies to the *Church*, that are Courted at the expence of the *Church's* Friends? Upon whose account the T—— is bid to look to't, and maturely weigh who are to be Provok'd at this Juncture.

The plain *English* of all this Matter, is this. Her Majesty has been pleas'd in Her Great Wisdom, to make some Alterations among Her Officers of Trust and Profit. Upon this the Government's Zeal and Concern for the *Church* is every where by these Men called in Question. They that are turned out have the Sagacity to see the Danger the *Church* is in, which they could not possibly have seen, if their *Advantageous Posts* had been continued to them. The want of *Places* makes Men very clear Sighted, and sometimes double Sighted too; 'tis to be hoped it will make them as good at preventing of *Dangers*; and if those can be prevented that threaten either *Church* or *State*, by their being put out of *Places*, it is very happy for the Nation that they are so.

But how comes the *Church* to be Concerned in Her Majesty's dispensing of Her Favours? Had *Princes* used to be taxed with being against the *Church*, for making Alterations in the *Ministry*? Why mayn't they be allowed to Judge of Men's Abilities, and their Fitness for their Service, without intending the least Prejudice to the *Church*? All sort of Zeal for the *Church*, is not a Qualification for a Trust of Consequence. And if Affection to the *Church* was to be a mark of a Man's Abilities, why may not a *Prince* be as well able to Judge of a Feigned and Real Zeal, as other People, and to Prefer which She thinks best Qualified to Serve both Her and the *Church*? But if noise for the *Church* be the only Qualification for a *Minister of State*, 'tis but having good Lungs and a large Throat to be the best *Statesman* in the Nation.

It has been an *Art* practis'd in more Ages than this in which we live, for Men to pretend the Cause of the *Church* and *Religion* when they meant nothing less, and to cry out of the Dangers of the *Church*, if themselves had not the Management and Disposal even of all Temporal *Preferments*; but it was a greater piece of *Art* in Men to work the Clergy up into a belief, That they were out of Principle particularly zealous for the *C.* tho' it was visible they had not any manner of Concern for *Religion* in General.

It was the Artifice of the Duke of Guise, the head of the Faction, because he was not at the head of the Ministry, in the Reign of Henry III of France, when he was in designs to undermine the Government, to make Religion and the Church the Cloak to cover all his Factions. And the Historian (Davilab) observes of him, L. 7.) That He was always able with marvellous opportunities to advance his own Enterprizes in such a manner as no other Interest should appear outwardly, but that of Religion. Pursuant to this, out of his mighty Zeal for the Church, he propounded this plausible offer, That he desired nothing but an Edict against the Hugonots; that no other Religion but the Catholick should be permitted in the Kingdom; and that the Hugonots should be Incapable of all Offices and Dignities of what kind soever. This gave him and his Faction great Credit, and mighty Advantages, and drew all the Clergy to his Party. The City of Paris was full of Infamous Pamphlets, (Lib. 9.) which for the most part abusing the Name of the Duke D' Espernon, (the Chief Minister) redounded to the Scorn and Disgrace of the Royal Majesty. On the other side, all the Streets and every corner of Paris, resounded the Praises of the Duke of Guise, Celebrated in Verse and Prose by a Thousand Writers, with the Title of the New David, the Second Moses, the Deliverer of the Catholick People, the Prop and Pillar of the Holy Church; and the Preachers in their wonted manner, but with greater License, openly inveighing against the present Affairs, filled the Peoples Ears with wonders of this Hero, come into the World for the desired Safety of Church and Kingdom. Which things spread Industriously thro' all parts of France, made Impressions upon the People, to the great disadvantage of the King, and to the raising the Interests of the Guises. The King himself was represented by the Party as disaffected to the Church and the Catholick Cause; a Favourer and Upholder of Hereticks. For so another Historian (Mezeray) tells us, That the Guises caused the King to be deceived by their Emissaries, and by their Preachers, as an Abettor of Hereticks, and proclaimed every where, That he conspired with the King of Navarre to oppress all the Good Catholicks.

These Arts had a mighty Influence upon the People, and gained such strength to the Guises, and set them at the head of such numerous Forces that the Crown was in the utmost danger. The King was forced to satisfy all their demands about Religion; and to consent that the Hugonots should be suppress'd and destroy'd: but the Edicts drawn from him by force, he resolved never to execute. For he argued Davilab. L. 7. in his Council, That the Hugonot Party being destroyed which bridled the Power, and hindred the excessive Strength of the Guises, he should be left a Prey to their Force, which would then have no Restraints; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up Arms, tho' that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that such ready Wits, and such daring Spirits should want other Inventions.

For so it prov'd, Religion was the *Pretence*, but they wanted the *Administration*. For after the King had Sworn to such *Edicts*, as they contended for, he was still in the same danger. The *Clergy* still threw out *Invectives* against him, which *Mezeray* thinks, out of respect to their Function, should have been pass'd over in silence, could it have been consistent with the Fidelity and Impartiality required in an *Historian*; they told the People they were *absolved from their Allegiance*, they aspersed all about him, as *Favourers of Hereticks*, tho' they knew they favour'd them not, any farther than in seeking Preservation from them against the Rebels of the *League*: It would be *Prudence*, says that *Historian*, to bury in forgetfulness, the furious Heats of the *Parisians* against the King, the declamations of the *Pulpiteers*, the lewd Songs, the infamous Discourses, the bloody Satyrs wherewith they mangled his Reputation; and I might omit, were it not too great an Injury and breach in History, what the Faculty in Divinity esteem'd the leading one of all *Christendom*, asserted, upon a Consultation held with them, That the French were discharged of all Oaths of Fidelity, and their Duty of Obedience towards *Henry d'Valois*, and that they might with a safe Conscience, take up Arms against Him, which drew somewhat after it of a most terrible Consequence.

To such a degree were the *Clergy* heated against the King and his *Ministry*, out of a blind zeal for the *C—b*; tho' it was too plain the Cry was chiefly rais'd to favour the Ambition of the *Guises* and their followers. Who knew that they could never have so fair a Game to play, as when they had possess'd the Minds of People, that they were engaged in defence and preservation of the *Catholick Cause*.

I have the rather mention'd this Instance, not only because 'tis very parallel in many particulars, as any one may see more at large in the *Historians* themselves, to the designs and actions of some *Modern Politicians*; but also, because a pretty zealous *Writer*, Sir *H—M—*. (and after him the *Memorial*) has taken the Liberty to commend the *Politicks* of *Henry III.* in publishing *Edicts* to debar all the *Reform'd Religion* from Places of Trust and Profit, and has ventur'd to draw Arguments from the wisdom and success of his design, for the necessity of the *Occasional Bill*, to prevent all from bearing Offices, that are not entirely conformable to the *Establish'd Church*. I suppose it may be pretty long since that Gentleman read the *Histories* that mention this Fact; for otherwise he would have remember'd, that it was with the greatest difficulty that the King was brought to consent to that *Edict*; he foresaw that if it was executed, it would indeed suppress the *Hugonots*, but it would also throw him into the hands of the *Guises*, who he knew would Dethrone him, as 'tis visible they designed to do; and the *Queen Mother*, *Katherine de Medicis*, who saw thro' the Design, and the Consequences of it, but yet saw it was absolutely necessary seemingly to grant it, prevail'd upon him in appearance to consent to and approve of it, because the Event would shew it was also absolutely impossible it should be put in execution. The *Faction* that promoted it, designed in the first place, the entire management of Affairs in their own hands; for they would have had strength enough to have displac'd all the *Ministry*, tho' far enough from being *Hugonots*; and then, as *Davilah* tells us, to lay aside the *Protestant Succession in the Person of the King of Navarre*; who was then a *Protestant*, and entirely hated by the *Factions* of the *Guises*.

What the design of those was that propos'd this *Edict* in *France*, is very plain, but what their Intention was, that were so zealous for a *Bill* of like nature among our selves, is not yet very apparent. But they that make use of a *French Instance*, and applaud the design so far as to offer it for an Example, give some cautious People ground to suspect that they design to Copy after it throughout.

The passing of an *Occasional Bill*, would, if we may guess from the immediate consequences of it, have had of its self so little influence, that it could not deserve all the heat and stir that was made about it.

The turning of a few little Men out of Places in some *Corporations* of *England*, or perhaps in some inferior State Offices, if the (*Bill* would have done it : which after all is a Question) is of no great Consequence to the Security of the *Church*. For their being in Offices can do no great damage, nor the displacing them do any great Service to it. But the Supream Management of Affairs, and the disposal of the *Suc——n*, which might be remoter views, are matters of the highest Importance, and well worth contending for. Whether the Passing the *Bill* would have had such an Effect, as to put all the Power into the hands of a *Party*, or no ; 'Tis possible it might have been contended for with less zeal, if some such thoughts had not been in some Mens Heads. It was no false Conjecture of the *Guises*, that if the *Edict* they had gained from the King had been *Executed*, it would so far have disoblged the *Hugonots*, that he could depend but little upon their Assistance in any danger; and then the Consequence wou'd be, he must fall into the hands of the *Guises Faction*, who could then make what Conditions they pleased for themselves, and force him to hold his *Crown* by as precarious a *Tenure*, as they could have desired.

I can't say that the *Party* that call themselves the *Church* here, could have any such designs; far be it from *Church-men* to harbour any such Selfish Thoughts, especially such as might sink the Dignity of *Royal Majesty*. But yet the Consequences look natural enough; could they have prevail'd upon the Government, to shew what marks of displeasure they thought fit, upon those they would be pleased to call *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*, they should then be the sole determiners of the proper Objects of the *Royal Bounty* and *Favours*, and be able to set Limits to the *Prince's* Commands, and their own *Obedience* to them.

It is not improbable, I say, that they who know by themselves, what an Influence *Places* have over the Tempers and Affections of Men, to make them firm or pliable in their Obedience; to raise them to all manner of Commendations of a *Government*, or to heat them into Invectives against it, according as they are gratified with *Places*, or disoblged by the want of them; should think others made after the same manner with themselves, and that they would lose some of their zeal and affection for the *Government* with the loss of their *Places*, and consequently leave it to depend upon their own Good Will and Pleasure. Which no doubt they would support just as long as it was for their particular Advantage to do it.

How far the want or loss of *Places* may disgust, some even that call themselves *High-Church Men* have experienc'd; and the Publick has seen by the *Memorial*, and some other Good Offices of their Friends, they are not altogether incapable of Resentment. And if Men that have pretended to such unbounded Duty, and such strict Principles of *Loyalty*, can't keep their Temper, but break forth into Undutifulness, not to say Seditious Expressions against their *Governours* upon the occasion, how should we think they would behave themselves upon such like usage, who never came up to such strains of unlimited Obedience, and who are said to be of more frail and mutable Natures? And what an Uproar the *H — C — b* would make upon any the least Act of Undutifulness in any but themselves, both sides I believe are sensible.

Places are certainly of a very bewitching nature; if they make some *Occasionally Conform*, they make others *Occasionally Loyal*: and what's the difference? The one will be True to the *Church* as long as 'tis for their Interest; and the other will be True to the *State*, unless it is for their Interest to be otherwise. So that the Government has

has no greater Security of *Occasional Loyalists*, than the Church has of *Occasional Conformists*. And these can as well plead their zeal for the Church; as the other can their *Fidelity* to the Civil Government. And indeed if Allegiance may pass for a certain mark of the *True Church* of England, whatever the *Occasional Conformists* are, the *Occasional Loyalists* of all men have the least Right to be called *Church-men*. Their fury and violence against a Government they own, though the Concern for the Church be the Pretence, no Church Principles will defend. And if so, the contending for the Church, against the Doctrines of the Church, is following the Example of the *Good Old Cause* in 41. The taking up Arms against the King, by his Commission, and fighting for the King's Authority, against His Person.

But it may be pretended, That the heat and out-rage of the *Memorial*, and some other Pamphlets, are not at all designed against the Queen, but Her Ministers. And this again was the pretence of 41. But if the Ministers are struck at, that are known to Act by Her Authority, and are supported by Her, 'tis plain that Royal Majesty it Self, is not designed to be Exempted. And 'tis more than probable, that the stroke was directly levell'd at the Queen Her Self, when they upbraided Her in the *Memorial*, With their firm adherence to Her while only Pr—— with their Representatives having cheerfully Supplied Her, and the Nations Wants; and then Insolently and Unmannerly Reproach her, With the repeated Cautions which they plainly see in Her Speeches, with the Obstructions which every thing that has been advanced for the Security of the Church has met with from some great Off—— of the C——n; with the Church's not holding the same rank in Her Esteem and Confidence, that it held heretofore, and with Her not daring to give the wonted marks of it, thro' the Awe of some Party or other. These are Tauntings, not usually bestow'd upon Crowned Heads! And had they not been groundless, would hardly have been pass'd over without the Punishment they deserve. But Good Princes that merit the best returns, can most easily forgive the worst. And it will be told in the *Annals* of this Happy Reign, That as there have been the greatest occasions given for just severity, by an ungrateful set of Men, who have largely tasted of Her Royal Bounty and Favour, so has Her Majesty Excelled in Acts of Mercy and Clemency towards them all that ever went before Her.

There are hardly any Instances in History of such Affronts against a Government that have been so quietly put up, of such restless endeavours to alienate the Minds of the People from their Prince, by Libelling Her and Her Chief Ministers, that have been so long endured; and of such continual Abuses that are thrown out, and such Clamours and Out-cries made, without Cause or Provocation, (except such as will always be given to the end of the World, when a Prince pleases to change any of His Servants,) that have been hitherto pass'd over, without almost any kind of Rebuke. Such Libels and Pamphlets, as the *Memorial* and many others, so Virulent, and so Seditious have been vented and scatter'd in all Places, that if they can be equal'd by those Times of Confusion and Rebellion which began in 41, I am sure they have not been out-done by them.

If it be said, That a few only are concerned in those Libels, and that they alone are accountable for them, and not any Party of Men; it will be answered, That all such as defend, applaud, and spread them abroad, are almost as much Guilty as those immediately employed in the Compiling them. Men may be Necessary that were not Authors. And those that are set upon the under-work of promoting and crying up the Sedition, are as far Authors, as their Talents and Capacities will let them; They are fit Tools in their proper Places to cite and propagate at second hand. Some have

not quite the Impudence, with *D——ke* and others to invent and tell down-right *Lyes* for Truths, but yet as they are pleas'd with the Scandal, they can dispence with their Consciences in reporting them for Truths, because they are in *Print*. Improbabilities, how great soever, to the prejudice of the State, are no *Bars* to the Faith of an *Occasional Loyalist*, any more than they are in matters of Religion to an *Atheist*.

Thus our most *Excellent Queen* and Her Faithful *Ministry* are traduced by a company of restless designing Men, who hope to make themselves Considerable by raising Distrusts and Jealousies in the Minds of Her Subjects, who have not opportunities of enquiring into the Certainty and Reasons of Reports, and to Effect that by *Matiny*, which they can never do by any Merit of their own, or of their Cause.

The Authors of the *Memorial* are pleas'd, among some others, to put this Question, *Are we very sure, that they who ill treated and bespattered the Pr——fs, and hoped that She never should Reign, are grown sincerely fond of the Q——n, and heartily glad that She does Reign?*

I shall gratifie these Writers so far, as to answer them as they desire, That Men who were thus *rude to the Pr——fs*, can never be very *true to the Q——n*. But who are the Men that did this, why are they not produced? We can easily produce the Men that *ill treat and bespatter the Q——n*, which I think is something worse than acting the same part towards the *Princess*, were there any Man so *Brutish* as to do it. And if there were, who so likely as those that take such freedom with Her now She is *Q——n*? so that in return we may desire an answer to a more proper *Question*? Whether those that *ill treat and bespatter the Q——n*, and consequently wish for *some Body* else in *Her stead*, could ever bear any firm Zeal or true *Affection* to Her when She was *Pr——fs*?

By whom the *Q——n* is *ill used and bespatter'd, Libell'd, and Lampoon'd*, is visible to all the World; And they that will look into the Actions and Writings of some Men, will find them really guilty of that Base Seditious Practice, which without any shadow of an Evidence, they have charged upon others, and which they certainly forged, to render them *Odious* to the *Q——n* and *People*. And though the forgery has been long since detected, yet they have still the Unparallel'd Confidence to make use of it. But those that have the Forehead to charge *Her Majesty* with want of Affection to the *Church*, need not be much wondred at, if they invent Falshoods innumerable on the best of *Her Subjects*.

These *Occasional Loyalists* may talk loud of their zeal for the *Church*, to draw multitudes of Unthinking People after them, and to draw their Affection from those in Authority, whom they cry out upon as unconcerned for the safety of the *Church*, upon themselves; but if the *Church of England* her self had been in Her *M——y's* stead, at the head of Affairs, *She* could have met with no better usage at their hands.

Had *She* turn'd them out of *Places*, or not thought them fit, or not so fit as others, *She* would have been Exclaimed against, as much an Enemy to the *Church*, or to something else, that was as Popular, as her *M——y* now is. Men once heated, would never have wanted pretences against even the *Church* her self, had *She* not gratified and favoured them in their own way.

Why is *Her Majesty* and Her *M——rs* suspected of being alienated from the *Church*? The *Memorial* tells us, That their want of zeal appears by some Men's being *dismiss'd* from *Court*, and others appointed in their *Room*. But can no Qualifications be wanting in Men, that don't want zeal for the *Church*? must their zeal for the

the Church, make them most proper of all others to serve Her Majesty in Posts where the Church is not at all Concerned? Is a Secretary of State to be Director of Her Majesty's Conscience? or is the Keeper of the Privy Seal, required to be an Interpreter of the Liturgy and Canons? If not, why all this stir about State Places? But granting that True and Zealous Church-men are the fittest for such Trusts, what difference has the Government made by alterations, with respect to the Church? Why, the Memorial tells us, That the Great Patrons and Assertors of the Interest of the Church at Court, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Newcastle, Devonshire, of Devonshire, Sr. Edward Seymour, Lord Galloway, Goring, Gower, Sir George Digby are turned out, without the least pretence or colour of Offence; what can we Judge of the Interest of the Church at Court? was any thing objected to them that might deserve to be punished with the loss of their Places?

It seems they can own the loss of Places a Punishment, when their Friends are dismissed from them, but 'tis no hardship at all upon others, when a pretence is wanting to eject them.

But not to enter here upon the Justice and Civility of this charge upon the Queen, for turning out Her Servants, without the least pretence or colour of Offence; An Insinuation as if She was obliged to give the People an account of the reasons of Her displacing of some, and advancing others, which savours rankly of the Old Spirit of Rebellion; and tends to make the Queen as little, as I fear these Occasional Loyalists would have Her be; How has the Church suffered, by the displacing any of these mentioned? Perhaps some that call themselves Church men, may have been baulk'd in their Expectations. But are not those that succeeded them, as True Church-men, as really in the Interest of the Church, as any of those that are turned out. What is the Test of a Church of England Man? If the Old Test, the Liturgy, Articles, and Canons; these, upon trial will appear to have as true pretensions to the Church as the other. Keeping to the Order and Communion of the Church, and never Separating from it, used to denominate a Church-man, and if that may be still allowed, the latter may plead every whit as good a Right as the former, and perhaps a much better than some of them. If the New Test of Voting for the Occasional Bill must pass for the only distinguishing Character of a Church-man, some of these that supplied the rooms of those dismissed, must come under the same Denomination of Church-men, because they were on the same side for passing it. And if we add their Zeal to serve such as think they have the best right to Church Titles and Preferments of any Men in the Nation, those that have been promoted by them, will easily prove they have real pretensions to be True Church-men, whoever else are below the Character.

Most of those Honourable Gentlemen that have lately shared Her Majesty's Favour, were not I believe for passing the Occasional Bill; but then it does not appear, but that the Reason was, That they did not apprehend the Passing it would have been at all for the Good of the Church. And indeed, as far as appears, from all the Arguments that have yet been urged for the Bill, no Advantage could have hapned to the Church by it.

It would have raised Jealousies, and stir'd the humours of a Generation of Men, that are now quiet, (and seem to aim at nothing farther than the keeping their Tolerantion;) to no manner of purpose, but to create Heats and Fews amongst us. What new Security would the Church have had? Perhaps some Occasional Conformists would have forsook their Places rather than their Practice of going for the most part to Con-

Conventicles; and then it may be, some *Occasional Loyalists* would have got into them to the no greater Security either of *Church* or *State*.

But however that might have been the pretended design of the *Bill* was Impracticable, which was to prevent *Hypocrisie*. For had the *Bill* Pass'd, they must know very little of the nature of *Hypocrisie*, that could think such a *Bill* would have prevented it. It is a certain Rule with *Hypocrites* to follow their Interest, and Conscience would have had no restraint upon such in keeping them from *Church*, if Interest call'd them thither, and they would most certainly have left their *Meetings* rather than their Profitable *Places*. So that if the Practice is *Hypocrisie*, and *Scandalous Equivocation*, as the *Memoralists* and others call it, the *Bill* would have lost its Effect in restraining them. The *Hypocrites* would have been constant *Church-men*, and yet no more Friends to the *Church* perhaps than when they were *Separatists*; nay, perhaps more incensed against it, and more watchful of an opportunity of making reprisals. So that the Argument that is always brought to countenance the *Bill*, is really much stronger against it. To make the *Bill* reasonable, we should first prove, That they are not *Hypocrites*; for if we prove them *Hypocrites*, we make the *Bill* useless; for make what Rules you will, a *Hypocrite* will comply, as far as his Interest directs Him.

Whether they are *Hypocrites* or not, is not my business to enquire, let them look to that as they will answer it to *God* and their own *Consciences*. I am sure it is no Sin in those that Separate from us, to come to our Churches, especially when they have no *Place* in view, as many of the chief *Non-Conformists* have done, and I wish they would all consider, that as it is not unlawful to come to our Churches by their own Concessions, so they would not return to a Practice which is not lawful according to ours; and since they own they may come to our Church, I think, for the sake of Decency and Order, of Peace and Unity, they ought always to do it.

But be they what they will, either in Principle or Practice, if they are *Hypocrites*, the *Bill* would not affect them; if they go on upon Principle, the *Bill* was not a very proper way to Convert them, but rather to heat them more in their opposition to us.

So that if the *Occasional Bill* is to be a *Test*, those that saw into the Nature of it, and the disservice it would have done to the *Church*, should be distinguished as the only Men that have studied the Honour and Safety of the *Church* by their zeal in opposing it.

It is not enough to prove on the other side, that the Practice of *Occasional Conformity* is wrong; and that those that allow it, can never defend a *Separation*, but are obliged to Constant Conformity: I shall readily grant all this; but I can't think that a *Law* to forbid it upon forfeiture of *Places*, would alter Men's Principles, or is a proper way to convince them of their Errors. I must confess, had I the disposal of *Places*, I should consider so much the difference of Men's Principles, as to bestow none upon those that Dissented from the *Church*, any more than I would upon *Occasional Loyalists*; and I don't believe that the Q--n, after all the Clamour that has been so unjustly made, has bestowed any one *Place*, upon an *Occasional Conformist*; but yet I can't think that a *Law* to disable them for the future, (which indeed would have been more reasonable) but one to turn them out of those *Places*, which they were legally qualified for, would have been not only a hardship, but would have made a noise and a stir, which a Wise and Charitable Christian could have hardly consented to, especially at this Juncture, without better prospects of Convincing the

the Judgment and of doing Good to the *Church*, or Service to the *State*, than ever yet appeared from the Arguments of the greatest Zealots for the *Bill*.

But besides, are the *Occasional Conformists* so considerable for their Number, that all those that don't use their utmost Endeavours to suppress them, must forfeit the Character of Church-men? The *Memorial* its self owns, when it proceeds to shew how groundless the fears are of disobliging them, *That our Fleets are Man'd, and our Armies formed of such as can conform to the Service of the Church, and if all were turned out of them, who would not, we should not miss a Sixth Rate's Crew, or a single Company out of Both.* If so, we have certainly no Reason to fear the Dissenters; we have Power sufficient to bind them Hand and Foot whenever we think fit. What Reason have we then to apprehend dangers from them either to *Church* or *State*? To turn them out of their Places therefore, must either be out of a view of putting some particular Men in their rooms, or out of Malice to the *Dissenters*. It can't be out of a design of Serving the Church in General. For the *Church of England* has not lost, but gained very much Ground by *Occasional Conformity*, both from the *Dissenters* and *Papists*. And if we really mean the Good of the *Church*, and the Encrease of its Numbers, I can't see why we should discourage a *Practice* that has prov'd very Beneficial to its Interest.

The strength of the *Dissenters* Arguments are not so weighty, as that we need fear their making many Converts amongst us. They have been so much baffled, particularly by some that are called *Low-church men*; The Unreasonableness of their *Separation* has been preisd so hard upon them, beyond a possibility of a direct *Reply*, that they must sink in the Opinion of all Unprejudic'd and Reasonable Men. The Members of their *Congregations* want nothing but to Understand the Nature of our *Church*, and the Excellency and Purity of our *Worship*, to bring them over to us. *Occasional Conformity* has brought many of them to a better knowledge of both these, has worn off their Prejudices, and reconciled them entirely to us.

Why then should we fall so severely upon a Practice, which has certainly lessened the *Dissenters*, and done good Service to the *Church*? And to what End should we make a Law to debar them from Places, because they don't come as yet entirely to us, when the Practice will in all likelihood, convince them of their former Fault, and bring them and their Children after them entirely over in time, as we have already seen in many Instances? And why must they be called *False Friends*, or *Enemies* to the *Church*, that opposed a *Bill*, which they could not be convinc'd had any Good tendency, either to enlarge the *Church* or strengthen the *State*? And that those that opposed the passing the *Bill*, could not think in their Consciences, that they consulted the Security of the *State*, and the real Interest and Honour of the *Church* by what they did, they that have made it their business to asperse and vilifie them, have not yet been able to prove. The great Solicitors of the *Bill*, and the strongest Arguers in defence of it, have been only able to shew the *Scandal* and *Hypocrisie* of the Practice in coming to our *Communion* to qualifie those for a Place, who think it unlawful to come at another time; I know no body will oppose them in it; for if any do so, the practice is certainly *Hypocritical*, and not to be defended. But then, I say, no Law will exclude such Men from their Places.

They have been farther able to prove, That *Occasional Conformity* amongst us, is so far an Unjustifiable Practice, that they that can *Occasionally Conform*, are not to be excused, if they don't constantly *Conform*; in which we are perfectly agreed. Nor do I know any *Low-Church-Men* but what Condemn them, whatever the Principle be with which the

the *Occasional Conformists* think they can satisfie their own Consciences in that partial Conformity. But what after all wants to be prov'd, is, what Advantage the *Church* can receive by it. And to what end should we make Disputes and Contentions, when the best and most that can be hop'd from the *Bill*, is, that it will change and discontinue a Practice in some Men, which 'tis likely they may suffer it to do for the sake of their Places; but leave them with the same Principles as before.

But could the *Bill* have brought all the Dissenters over, yet I don't see how our unhappy Disputes would be at all nearer to an End. For those that are called *Low-church Men*, tho' they have never Separated in any Instance from the Church, but have defended it upon all Occasions against the *Dissenters*, and have prov'd their *Dissent* Mischievous and Unreasonable, are yet represented as Enemies and Betrayers of the *Church*. They are rank'd with *Presbyterians* upon all occasions, and meet with no better quarter than they in the *Memorial*, and in all other *Libels*. Nay, so far has the Spite and Malice of Men reach'd, that even most of the *Right Reverend Fathers of the Church* are Stigmatiz'd with those *Characters*, and very many of the inferior *Clergy* joyn in representing them as such, not only contrary to their *Duty*, but to common *Sense* and *Reason*. For if 'tis the Interest of any Men in the Nation to Uphold the *Church*, it is of the *Bishops*, and for what reason they should be for giving it up into the hands of its *Enemies*, no Man is able to explain. But tho' it is plainly one of the most Malitious and Groundless Accusations that ever was made, and tho' the *Bishops* are known to have writ as clearly and strongly against the *Dissenters*, as any set of Bishops that ever were before them, and tho' it is beyond all Contradiction so visibly for their Advantage, to secure and preserve the *Church*; yet they have suffered very much by the Calumny, to the no small disadvantage of the Church, and to the great triumph of the Enemies both of the *Church* and the *Queen*.

Indeed it was impossible to attack them any other way, their *Characters* were above the reach of Malice: and how they came to be attack'd even this way with success, is no small wonder to those that consider what Ornaments they have been, and what Services they have done to the *Church*, both before and since they have been advanc'd to higher Stations. Had they been less strict in endeavouring to revive and put in practice the Discipline of the *Church*, and had they been less constant and exemplary in their attendance on all the *Offices* of the *Church*, they had past, 'tis likely, in some Mens Opinions, for better Church-men than they do at present.

It is most certainly undeniable to any Man that thinks, that the Bishops cannot want *Zeal* and *Firmness* to the *Church*. It is certainly for their *Interest*, and it must be their *Principle*, unless it be their *Principle* not to be for their *Interest*, which their *Enemies* will hardly think fit to grant.

But tho' there could be no just cause, yet it was absolutely necessary to make way for the designs of some Men, to represent the *Bishops* as disaffected to the *Church*, it being the more likely way to set the *Clergy* and all People that had a true Value for the *Church* against them. And I doubt not but the rejecting the *Occasional Bill*, especially by the help of the *Bishops*, was no small Satisfaction to many of those that seem'd zealous to promote it, because it was a new handle to argue upon, and a popular *Argument* enough it was, to those that look'd no farther than the surface of things to confirm the Reports that had been spread against them, of their disaffection and enmity to the *Church*.

It was absolutely necessary for those that had a work to carry on, and wanted Power and Places in their own hands, to undermine if possible the Character of the

Bishops. Because, that would bring a Scandal and Disrepute upon the *Revolution*; for if the *Bishops* then made, were Enemies to the *Church*, all other State *Officers* of that time must be of the same *Stamp*, which would deservedly sink them with the People, and lay a way open for new Schemes and Projects. It would at least exclude all those from Power, (where it was in the Peoples Hands to bestow it,) who were represented to be engaged in designs against the *Church* in the late *Reign*.

The *Bishops* that opposed the *Bill* were generally hated before, by those that most magnified the Design; and no doubt there was a farther Intention in the *Bill*, than the bare Excluding *Occasional Conformists*. It would bring new *Odium* upon all that opposed it; and perhaps make way for some other *Bill*, that should affect all those that were either Concerned in the *Revolution*, or were Highest promoted by it, under a Pretence of their want of Affection to the *Church*.

For now the *Scene* begins to open: We are told in a *Mercurius Politicus*, a Paper not offensive to any that are pleased with the *Memorial*, that a Man of *Revolution Principles*, is very unfit to be *Speaker of the House of Commons*, and the whole Paper is a Declaration against Men of *Revolution Principles*, as Enemies to their *Church and Country*: And 'tis an Arraigning of the *Revolution* it self. For it says expressly, That the *Revolution* put an End to all our *Civil Rights and Constitution*. Which words want no Comment, but they deserve an Answer, though not of the same kind with any that I am able to give.

But that the Arraigning *Revolution Principles* mayn't be thought to affect the present *Government*, The *Writer* says indeed, whatever he means, that *Her Majesty* wears the Crown by *Hereditary Right*, and not by *Revolution Principles*. Could he prove it to be by *Hereditary Right*, he would very much oblige the *Jacobites*, who pretend to stand out upon no other Grounds, but because that Matter is not clear'd. If he can't prove it, he must be forced to own that *Her Majesty* holds the Crown by the same Tenure as *K. W.* did; and founded upon the same *Principles*. But whether the Reflection touches the *Q—n's Right* or not, as 'tis most likely it does, for those Men are not wont to speak more respectfully of *Her Majesty*, than the Laws constrain them; it certainly has a direct Tendency to overthrow the *Succession* in the *Protestant Line*. For that is not fix'd upon *Hereditary Right*, but upon Principles that brought about the *Revolution*; and as that *Writer* has made these the two *Principles* upon which a true and a false Government is founded; if the *Succession* is not Grounded upon the first, i. e. *Hereditary Right*, 'tis according to him Illegal and Unjust, and ought to be protested against. But I doubt not but the Wisdom of the *Nation* that settled the *Succession*, will take care to vindicate it from such Notions and Practices as are design'd to Overthrow it; and will inviolably maintain that Great *Security*, upon which, next to *Her Sacred Majesty*, whom *God Long Preserve*, our Hopes of Preserving our *Religion and Liberties* entirely depend.

It is apparently the Design of these Men to cast all the *Odium* they can upon the *Revolution*; and if that could have been done without Interesting the *Church* against it, 'tis likely the Concern for the *Poor Church* had been less talk'd of. But it would have been a weak Attempt to have declared barefaced against it; The many Advantages the *Nation* enjoy'd by it, and the Means the *Revolution* was of setting *Her Present Majesty* upon the Throne, (who we may be pretty Confident, notwithstanding *Her Hereditary Right*, would not now have wore a Crown, had not the *Revolution* happen'd,) makes that of it self an unpopular and ineffectual Argument for sinking the Characters of those that were Concerned in it, or Promoted by it. But the

Church is of the Greatest Concern, and if the People could be perswaded that the *Church* was in danger by the *Revolution*; that they that were prefer'd by the late *Reign* were in Designs against it; *They* then might raise themselves upon their *Ruins*, and become the Favourites of the People, *who* appear so zealously affected in the Cause of the *Church*, and so active to recover it from its intended Destruction.

It is a great piece of Art, in Men of Intrigue and Design, to make use of the most plausible *Pretence*; and no *Pretence* can be more Creditable, than that of Religion of the *Church*; Experience shews it is of great Power to draw aside and seduce a Multitude. The pretence of Religion and *sanctity* subverted the Constitution and usurped the supream *Authority* in one *Age*; and if Men will be blinded again and seduced, the pretence of the *Church* may do the same things in *another*.

It was again Necessary for those that wanted the Power and the Places to represent the *Bishops* and others favoured by the late *Government*, as disaffected to the *Church*, to render them odious to Her *present Majesty*, and to bring themselves into chief Favour and Authority. They well knew that nothing was more at Her *Majesty's* Heart than the Good and the Security of the *Church of England*, and that no Consideration whatsoever could take off Her Thoughts and Concern for its Welfare and Prosperity. If therefore they could have perswaded Her *Sacred Majesty*, that themselves were the only true *Church-men*, and the *Bishops* with those in the Interest of the late *Government*, were Enemies and Betrayers of the *Church*, there wanted nothing more to recommend themselves to Her *Majesty's* Favour, and to confirm Her in Her utter Dislike to the others.

But Her *Majesty*, in Her great Wisdom, soon saw throw that *Cheat*: She easily perceiv'd, that all that was an *Artifice*; that things that sound loudest are most hollow and least substantial; and that for all the Cry that was made for the *Church*, those might be the best *Churchmen* that were most silent, and born down with Noise and Clamour, and those the *Worst*, that made the Greatest *Pretence*. Her *Majesty* was too discerning to be imposed upon by such like *Artifices*, however prevailing they may be, to the deceiving too many of Her people.

It was a Trick tried in the *Reign* of *K. James I.* to create a Dislike in Him to any sort of Men, that some about him had an Aversion to, to give them the Name of *Puritans*; by which Falsehood some Men of great Sobriety and Learning, and in the true Interest of the *Church*, were almost secluded from all hopes of His *Majesty's* Favour. Amongst others the Great and Learned *Dr. Usher*, afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*, was thus aspers'd and misrepresented to the *King*. But His *Majesty*, after some Conversation had with him, was so well satisfied that 'twas a Calumny, that he was pleased to declare Himself after that manner as 'tis recorded in the Life of that Excellent *Primate*, That the *Knave Puritan* was a *Bad*, But the *Knave's Puritan* was an *Honest Man*.

That *King* had a very bad Opinion of the *Puritans*, and indeed He had little reason to have a Good one, But he as well knew, that there were other sorts of *Knaves* as little to be trusted, that were very busie in fixing odious Characters upon others that did not at all deserve it.

Many very good and worthy *Churchmen* suffer'd under that odious Name in those days, and they very much complained of it, as a Device of the *Papists* and their *Agents*, who found their account in it, for it proved serviceable to the Cause of *Popery*, and very prejudicial to the *Church*. A short History of that matter we may find in a Letter from a worthy Divine in *Ireland*, to the same *Dr. Usher* then in *England*.

England. Wherein he tells him, *That he hopes he is not ignorant of the hurt that is come to the Church by this Name Puritan, and how his Majesty's good Intent and Meaning therein is much abused and wronged, especially in that poor Country, where the Pope and Popery are so much affected* — . The Priests perceiving they cannot now prevail with their *Juggling Tricks*, have forged a new device: They have now stirred up some crafty Papists, who very boldly Rail both at Ministers and People, saying, They seek to sow this damnable Heresie of Puritanism among them; which word, tho' not understood, but only known to be most odious to his Majesty, makes many afraid of joyning themselves to the Gospel, tho' in Conference their Consciences are convicted herein: so to prevent a greater Mischief that may follow, it were good to petition his Majesty to define a Puritan, whereby the Mouths of those Scoffing Enemies would be stopt; and if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good Men to do it for him.

By this it appears who they were that first promoted these sort of distinctions among Church-men, and whose work they are carrying on, that give such odious Names, as imply a disaffection to the Church, to many that have done most real Services to it. The Name *Puritan* is now indeed laid aside, but others as *Low-church Men* and *Presbyterian*, are very freely bestowed upon those, who are no otherwise *Presbyterians*, than as they have been always very zealous in opposing *Popery*. Which was reason enough for the *Papists* to invent any Characters that might render them odious. And if they can perswade those of our own Church they are deserved, if they can bring Men of the most eminent Characters amongst us into a Disrepute, 'tis too easie to be discerned what Advantages may be made by that means in favour of *Popery*. But GOD be thank'd, her Majesty, which is our great concern, has the Wisdom to separate the True Characters of Men from the false Names that are put upon them; and is well able to distinguish who are the real and hearty Friends to Her Self, and the Church of England. Tho' it would be well if the Name of *Church-Man* was truly defined, for the satisfaction of others, and to prevent the mischief that ill Men daily do among the People by the abuses and misapplications of it.

There is this farther fetch in representing the *Bishops* and many other great Men, as no *Church-Men*, that the Ministry also may fall under the hatred of the People, for being equally disaffected to the Church with them. It would be to no purpose to fall upon the Chief Ministers any other way. Their Faithfulness to their Prince, and their Services done their Country are above being called in Question: But if they come to be suspected of being Enemies to the Church, and of being engag'd in designs to Betray it, none of their good Qualities can protect them; they must forfeit the Favour of their Prince, and the Affection of the People; and leave their Places to be fill'd by those who have the Art to make some People believe, that the Church must be ruin'd if they are not in them.

It is easie to perswade those that believe the *Bishops* only wait a fit opportunity to deliver up the Church into its Enemies hands, that the Court is in the same design, if it does not express an Aversion to those *Bishops*, but especially if it should countenance or fall in with any measures proposed by them; and what should be the result of this, but that the Court to satisfy the People should banish all such Ministers, that joyn with such Men; and invite those in their room, that have given evident Marks of their being True Church-men, by their constant Opposition to those Prelates, and by their perpetual Declamations against them.

And this is no very Impolitick way for supplanting Men in their Places, and for getting into them. For Places are certainly the reason at bottom, why some Men are

called *True Church-men*, and the Name of *Church-men* is not allowed to belong at all to others. But if their *Places* and *Preferments* were resigned into other hands, and there was no longer any fears of their regaining them, no one would be quarrell'd with for calling them *Church-men*, they might enjoy that character in a low unenvied Condition with all imaginable Peace and Quietness.

So that 'tis apparent, all these Complaints of the Dangers of the Church flow from the want of *Places*, or from some sort of disappointment about them. Not that those great Persons in Authority, either *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, can be taxed with any change of *Principle*, or with any defect of Zeal for its Interest; but their Crime is, their not having that regard to some Men which they expected, or their being in *Places* which they would willingly have had; and this has raised all this Noise and Clamour.

The design of these *Occasional Loyalists*, was not only to get their Brethren the *Occasional Conformists* out of their *Places*, or to get into them when they had done it; for none of their *Places* were worth contending for, but into the much Higher Posts of some that have been perpetual Conformists to the Church of England, and never deviated from the Practice and Rules of the Church; and since that can't be hoped for any other way but by Lies and Slander, against those possess'd of them, there has been plenty of them indefatigably spread throughout the whole Nation. And what Effects they have had, the Heats and Divisions amongst us are too plain an Evidence.

Even many of the Sons of the Church have risen up against their *Fathers* the *Bishops*, thro' a misconceived apprehension, that themselves were vindicating the Cause of the Church against *Bishops* that were endeavouring to Subvert it; and so far were they heated, and so far were others deluded, as to be perswaded, that they were True Church-men, and the *Bishops* Presbyterians, while they themselves were acting against their *Metropolitan* and his *Suffragan Bishops*, upon no other than *Presbyterian* Principles. For their Contests all proceeded from Principles quite derogatory of the *Episcopal Authority*, and they are such as have been always condemned in *Episcopal Churches*. And tho' this is very evident, and has been sufficiently proved to be so, yet the Insinuation against the *Bishops* has so far prevailed, that many of the *Clergy* have dispensed with that respect and deference, which the *Clergy* of the Church of England have been always celebrated for paying their *Ecclesiastical Governours*, to joyn in condemning and reviling them.

Our Civil *Superiors* have fared little-better; the constant Topick of Railing is their deserting the Church, and the Nation has swarmed with Libels even against the Government it self.

But tho' these Scandals don't appear to be grounded upon any kind of Cause given for them, and tho' they can be imputed to nothing more, than the Vexation of some Men for want of *Places*; yet the Authors of the *Memorial* have the assurance to tell the World, that the bottom of all this Stir and Concern, is only the good of the Church: Nay, after they have spent their stock of Railing throughout their *Libel*, upon some Mens being turned out of *Places*, and have built all the Arguments which they bring of the Governments disaffection to the Church, upon the *Dismission* of some from *Court*, that have pleaded their Zeal for the Church, they have yet in the close of it very boldly asserted, tho' in contradiction to themselves, that those Church-men have no Aim at *Places*; their struggle was only to keep suspected Men out, not to get themselves put in. And this they say, was fairly demonstrated
by

by their hearty endeavour to incapacitate even themselves for Court Places, which are the only Places of Profit and Influence. And again, Is it not an inconceivable Stupidity to accuse or suspect those of Monopolizing Places, who would voluntarily disable themselves from holding any by a Self-denying Bill?

How inconceivable the Stupidity be of those that suspect them, it is verily believed, that They are not so inconceivably Stupid as to refuse them if offered; and if they could get them all, they would be thought inconceivably Stupid to part with any of them to their Enemies. And I fancy, as Good-natured and Self-denying as they pretend to be, they had much rather be Monopolizers, than let any of the Enemies of the Church be sharers with them. For if they had no concern for themselves and their own Interest, I hope they have some for the Church, and for the sake of that, they would, if they were Wise, be for keeping the Power solely in their own hands. But GOD be Thanked, they have not the Power to shew what they would do, and how Moderate they would be; but however we will be thankful to them for their Good-Will.

We ought not, I grant, to Judge of Times Present by the Past; Men that are zealous for the Church, are certainly of a more refined Make than other Men, or otherwise we might argue, That there have been Times when Men were mighty hot in promoting Self-denying Bills, and Bills against Translations of Bishops, because they apprehended their own turns were not likely to be served; but upon a change of Measures, and a favourable Aspect of the Court upon them, they were so far from protesting against Places and Translations, that they were perswaded to accept, and comply with them, and were pleased to drop their Bills, lest the mischief intended for others should fall upon themselves; and the like Times may be again if the like opportunities should happen; and if Mens Natures should be equally frail. For a Self-denying Bill is not always a certain sign of an Aversion to Places, even in those that are most zealous to promote it. Men's Aversions to Places sometimes proceed from want of Power to get them; if the Power returns, the Aversion is generally very soon overcome. There have been ways of Mens mentioning themselves, when they only meant others, and when by that Art they have excluded those they intended, they have had a Fetch, the Nature and Exigence of Affairs so requiring, to place themselves in their Room.

When the Duke of Guise proposed the (*Dav. L. 7.*) Incapacitating the French Protestants of all Offices and Dignities of what kind soever; he offered also himself to lay down all Offices and Governments possessed by him, or any of his, to take away all suspicion of Selfish Interest. But the Historian tells us, That the Duke knew very well, that if the King set himself against the Hugonots, he must of necessity Re-unite with the Catholics and the House of Guise; and that he must be so far from consenting that they should lay down their Offices and Governments, that he should be forced to give them yet others, and confer the chief Commands of the Armies upon them. So true was it, that the destruction of the Hugonots and His Greatness were firmly link'd together.

So that there don't want Instances to shew that a Self-denying Bill, how popular and generous soever it may seem, is not intended for an absolute renunciation of Places in those that promote it, but it may be to get them out of the hands they are in at present, and to remove them into their own. For Places must be fill'd by some or other, and if once ways are found out to make Vacancies, arts will be easily found out how to supply them. And that these Self-denying Church-men would not have some reserves for themselves, their Friends the Memorialists will hardly undertake to prove.

prove. For however out of humour they may be with *Places* at present, it is not convenient to make any profest Resolutions against them, or if it be convenient they well know that a *rash Resolution* is not binding.

It would be endless to run over all the scurrilous Language of the *Memorial*, nor indeed is it fitting to be long employ'd in such dirty *Work*; to answer it with plain dry Reasons would be ridiculous, and to return the like abusive stuff would be almost as much Unchristian, as to be first Authors of it. Otherwise it would be every whit as easie to throw back S---d---my, Ad---l---ry, P---x, or Pr---p---ness, upon those that are so free to cast them upon others. But a good Cause wants not such lying Arts; and True Lovers of their *Church, Queen and Country*, don't use to think their *Characters* the brighter by having dirt thrown upon their *Enemies*. And if a Man's Zeal for the *Church* must be judg'd of by his Talents that way, most of the *Low-church Men* must give up the Cause of the *Church*, and yield to those that are very much beyond them in such Qualifications.

But for any other marks of the *Church*, they pretend to have at least equal claims to them, with Men of what Denomination soever, and challenge all the World to shew wherein they have failed in any part of Duty, which the *Church* requires of them.

But then they expect, what they think in justice they may, that they should be convicted by plain Evidence, and downright Reason, and not to be born down by clamour and opprobrious Language, and condemn'd upon bare *Hear-say's* and groundless Insinuations. Such sort of Accusations they are not so well prepared to Answer, nor is it so fit an Employment for Christians to be always raking into the *Characters* of their false and malicious Accusers.

But if in defending themselves, in being True to the *Church*, and faithful to their Prince, they are forc'd so far to retaliate, as to shew that the Principles and Practice of their *Enemies* and Accusers are dangerous both to *Church* and *State*, and that the Divisions we now too justly complain of, are chiefly owing to them, it is an unhappiness which the Nature of their *Defence*, and the restlessness of their *Enemies* has unavoidably brought them under.

And if that Spirit of Mutiny which plainly appears in their Writings and Actions, has oblig'd us to shew, both for the sake of the Government, and of those that are affected as disaffected to the *Church*, that it may be truly affirmed of these pretended Zealots, what Monsieur Lanfac, a Papist, argued of the *Guises* and their Adherents, to the Cardinal of Bourbon, who through the pretence they made to Religion, was drawn into the Faction, That the *Business* cannot be any Interest at all of Religion, since the *Queen* can't be suspected of refusing any security we can think necessary for the *Church*, but that it is now manifest and publick to all the World, that under colour of Religion they prosecute their private Ends and Interests; if we must, I say, bring the same charge against them, they must thank themselves for it.

Nor can we avoid repeating what the same Cavalier said a little after upon the same occasion, as *Devilsh* tells us; The *Sieur de Lanfac* (says he) an old Cavalier, full of Experience of things past, discoursing in the *Louvre* of those present Affairs, with his wonted Eloquence said openly, that the *Hugonots* had at last gain'd the Victory: For whereas at first they were cry'd out upon for Disturbers of the Kingdom, Stirrers up of the People, and Enemies of the Supreme Prince; now they with reason did object the same things to the Catholics, and convince them of the same Crimes; which were so much the less excusable in the League, by how much they were wont more than all others to exclaim and make a Noise, about the

the Insurrections and Conspiracies of the Hugonots. I wish I could not say, that 'tis too easie to make an Application of this. The Encouragers of the Memorialists and such sort of Sowers of Sedition, if they know themselves, can't be Ignorant where it will and ought to fall.

The Authors of the *Memorial* offer at some Measures taken in those times of Henry III. of France, which they seem to have a mind to upbraid our Court with as parallel to some of its late Measures; But they have so mangled the *Histories*, and confounded Times and Kings Reigns, that one would be apt almost to think they had consulted Sir H---M--- for his remaining Scraps of that *History*. For they happen to be but mistaken in every Instance: They make the *Massacre* in the Reign of Henry the 3d, which was in the preceeding Reign of Charles the 9th. And they make the *League* to be before the *Massacre*, though it was some Years after it; And they make Henry the 3d wrought upon by his Mother to consent to the *Massacre* of all the Protestants in his Dominions, which was some Years before they were his Dominions. Katharine de Medicis never had the *Regency* during the Minority of Henry the 3d, for he was 23 Years old when he was first King. 'Tis true, I believe, that when she was in Authority, she sometimes countenanced the Hugonots, to ballance the Power of the Guises, and 'twas happy for her she did, or else the Guises had in all probability usurped the Dominion. The Hugonots were certainly the faithfullest Subjects King Henry had, and had he not too evidently dissembled with them, his Reign had been more Prosperous, and the *Factions* less powerful than they proved to be. Mezeray is not quite so positive, as those Gentlemen quote him, that had the King stuck to that wholesome Resolution of Excluding all the Hugonots intirely from all Offices of Trust and Profit, and of Granting them a Toleration, he had seen a speedy End of all his Troubles, and in a few Years brought all his Subjects peaceably to one Religion. Mezeray could not say all this; For had the King Excluded them from all Offices by an Edict, himself would soon have been entirely sunk by it. Besides the two next Princes of the Blood, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, both of the House of Bourbon and Protestants, were not to be wrought upon by any such Devices, they knew it to be an Artifice of the Leaguers to exclude them from the Crown, and indeed the Edict could not have had its Effects, without debarring them from their Right of Inheritance, and therefore they and their Followers were roused at it; and their Power was so great, that they soon got it repeal'd, though indeed it never took Effect. For as I shew'd before, the King only granted it in appearance for fear of the Guiser, but took care himself to move such Delays as never to have it Executed. But besides when that Edict was publish'd excluding Hugonots from Offices, there was no Toleration allow'd, the Hugonot Preachers were to be Banish'd, and their Goods Confiscated; a War was to be denounced against them, and they were to be Compell'd to abjure their own Religion, and to turn to the Popish. So far were they from thinking that an Exclusion from Offices would make them all of one Religion. But if Places have such an Effect to make Men of their Prince's Religion, as those Men argue, we may infer, that if we had a Prince a Presbyterian, even those steady and warm Churchmen would in time turn Presbyterians too, rather than forfeit or be excluded from their Places. For if a Popish Prince had it in his Power, to make all his Kingdom of his Religion, by Excluding them from all kind of Offices, if they did not turn to it, certainly a Religion less blind and Idolatrous, would be complied with for the same reasons. And then what would become of the Church of England! But as I can't suppose, that those Churchmen's Principles could be changed by hopes or Fears, especially of Places; so I hope they

they don't really believe, whatever they declare, that *Protestants* that understood their Religion, could have been brought to have embraced *Papery* upon any such Conditions.

And therefore had the *Facts* been rightly as they are falsely represented, the Arguments drawn from them would have been very unconvulsive. The Account of that *French History* in the *Memorial* is as Confused, and has as many Mistakes in it, as there must always be, when things are wrested to serve a Turn, without any manner of regard to *Truth* or *Common Decency*.

The *Remarker* upon the *Memorial*, poor ignorant *Scibler*, can't be content with the Blunders he found, but he must be trying his Skill to add to them. For he talks he knows not why, of the *Inadvertencies of a weak Prince, such as was King Henry of France in his Minority, notwithstanding the Figure which he made after he was advanced in Years*. Now if this *Writer* can but read, he will not only find, that *Henry* was not King in his *Minority*, he was at 11 elected King of *Poland*; and upon the Death of his Brother *Charles* the 9th, he came back for the Crown of *France*; but also that all the figure he makes in *History* is for the Exploits of his younger Years, when Duke of *Anjou*, when indeed he was very *Brave*, and famous for many good Qualities, but after he was King, he was remarkable for nothing, but a *Vitious, Lazy and Effeminate Life*, unless his outwitting and Murdering the Duke of *Guise*, may be called a brave Action; which indeed secured his *Throne*, tho' perhaps it might be the occasion of his own *Murder* afterwards by the Hands of a *Vile Monk*. But too much of this for the Confutation of such a *Writer*.

Long before the *Memorial* came out to deceive the People with his Misrepresentations of Men and Makers of *Fact*, I had made those Remarks upon the *French Affairs*, (which I have now set down in these Papers) as not altogether unlike some Modern Actions and Politicks; but they had not been made use of after this manner, but for the indefatigable Endeavours of some Men, to stir up the People to an Aversion to the *Government*, by *Lying Stories* and *Malitious Insinuations* against its truest Friends.

All that in Truth is to be learn't from these *French Historians* is plainly this: That some ambitious designing Men, under a pretence of protecting and securing the *Church*, had so far embarrass'd the *State*, that they had almost usurped the *Government*, and had very near laid aside the *Succession in the Protestant Line*. That if King *Henry* had executed the *Edict* against the *Hugonots*, excluding them from all *Offices* and *Trusts*, and from the Exercise of their Religion, which was as much intended, as their Exclusion from *Offices*, and always mentioned with it: He had indeed in all likelihood ruined the *Hugonots*, but he had at the same time ruined himself. 'Tis very plain that *Katharine de Medicis* the *Queen Mother*, who was always intermeddling in those Matters, did advise the Courting both *Parties* by Turns, but it was with a Design to ruin both, by dashing them against one another; but had she advised the keeping true to the *Hugonots*, the leaving them to the quiet Enjoyment of their Religion, and the *Rights* and *Privileges* they were possess'd of, she would have always found them faithful to the Court, and needed not have courted the *Friendship* of ambitious Men, which as the *Memorial* rightly enough observes, are always fallacious and dangerous, and never lasting: Her Sons had reigned in Peace and Quietness, and in all Probability the *Reformed Religion* would have gained so much ground, and won so much upon the Minds of the People, as to have become in a little time the *National Religion*, to the great Happiness of all *Christendom*, and to the preventing of all that Bloodshed

Bloodshed, and Miseries of many Millions of Poor Innocent Men, by a Cruel *Massacre* and a long Civil War, by unheard of Cruelties, and Banishment from their Native Country.

'Tis strange to me, that in all the late *Remarks* we have seen upon that *History*, those that call themselves *Church-men*, that know the Happiness of a Protestant *Queen*, and the Blessings of a Protestant Religion, should highly applaud those Measures, concerted in a *Popish Country*, as the most Wise and Politick, for making the whole Nation of the same Religion, that is, the *Popish*; and should condemn a Method, which would not only have prevented the overbalance of *Poper*y, which has in a good Measure occasioned all the Miseries we of this Nation have felt, and the Wars we have been engaged in; but have given such Advantages to the Protestant Cause, as all that Love that Religion heartily would be glad to procure at any Rate.

If it be said on the other hand, that if such a Method would in all likelihood have made the French Nation mostly Protestants, the like Civilities towards the Dissenters here, would soon make our whole Nation Presbyterian, which we should always provide against; to this it may be easily answer'd, That as such a Method would have kept us in Peace and Tranquillity, as it certainly would have done the French Nation, and have prevented those Jealousies and Divisions, which we now so much complain of, so we should have no reason to fear a growth of Presbytery from it, unless the Presbyterians had been as near a Balance to the Church, as the Hugonots were then to the Papists in France, and unless the Presbyterians, are allowed to have the Advantage of Reason and Scripture on their side, which we utterly deny, against the Church of England, as 'tis evident the Protestants have against the Papists. The Protestant Religion is so very preferable to the Popish, that it wants only to be fairly proposed to an unbiased Man, that will be guided by the Scriptures, and the sense of Antiquity, to persuade him to be of it. But the Presbyterians can pretend no such preference of their Worship to the Church of England, as to convince a reasonable Man, that he ought to leave the Church to go over to them; nay, so far from it, that they have neither Scripture nor Antiquity to justify their Separation, but both of them plainly condemn it. So that as the Protestant Religion must have gain'd ground upon the Popish, and have perpetually drawn over Protestants from it, had it not been under more Discouragements, which often keep Men from judging Impartially, so there could be no manner of fear of the prevalency of Presbytery here over the Church, though the present Advantages were equal on the one side and the other; but on the contrary it must constantly have lost ground among all reasonable Men, that consider the Difference fairly between them.

If any one shall further urge, That the Balance of the Church and the Dissenters, is not so unequal, as is imagined, and that the weight of their Friends added to them, will bring them at least to an Equality with the Church, and therefore the increase of their Power is very much to be dreaded; I answer, that if by Friends is meant, such as are for endeavouring to gain them over to the Church, by gentle Methods and Calm reasoning; and that think rough severe Treatment a very improper way for convincing the Judgment, and not

suitable to the Spirit of Christianity, I grant there are many Friends of such a sort, and I wish their Number was greater, and then I believe we should quickly have fewer Dissenters; but if by Friends is understood, such as with Presbytery may prevail, and think it the best Form of Church-Government, or such as are Enemies to the Church and Episcopacy in their Hearts, and would be glad of an Opportunity to give them up, and to settle the Presbyterian Discipline and way of Worship in their stead, there are none such that I know of, amongst those call'd Low-Church-men, and they Challenge their most virulent Enemies to shew that there are. They as heartily wish to see the Schism at an end as any Men can do, but they must differ from those that think railing proper for that purpose, or at all effectual to heal our Divisions; nor can they joyn in pursuing such Methods, that must either make our Differences greater, and the Separation wider, or at the best force Men over to the Church, who stand much better affected to a *Conventicle*. And to have their Bodies only in the *First*, and their Minds in the *Last*; they cannot think to be any great Advantage to the Church. They think the Church never got any thing by Compulsion; and yet that it will look very like it, to oblige Men either to *Constant Communion*, or to leave their Places; if Forfeiture of Place must follow their going once to a Separation Congregation, that is, laying a Penalty upon them, which they think not consistent with the Act of Toleration. Not to have a Place, can't indeed be thought a Punishment, but 'tis a Punishment to be Incapacitated by a Law for a Place, and to be turned out of those that were Legally Possess'd. These Methods they can't apprehend will bring any strength or Reputation to the Church. But that there are Methods, such as Christianity prescribes, that have been effectual to make many Converts to the Church, and in all likelihood if strictly and religiously followed, will continue to have the same Influence, and by degrees reconcile all those of the Separation to it; and these are Charity and Forbearance, a concern for the good of Men, and a Calm Refutation of their Errors; a desire to gain them, out of Love, and a tender Regard for them, and for the Welfare and Peace of the Church. If they must be call'd Low-Church-men, and Friends to the Dissenters upon any such accounts as these, they must bear the Characters patiently, tho' their Designs and Practices are only such as the Rules of the Church and of Christianity will fully justify them in; and I think, do require of them.

For want of real Grievances to complain of, the Memorial of the Church of England is forced to have recourse to the Case of the Aylesbury Men, and the Business of the Task, as Matters wherein the Church must be thought concerned, or else why are they mention'd so largely in a Book that pretends to assert the Cause of the Injured Church? And indeed they may as well argue, that the Church is in danger by the Opposition that some Men of the H — of C — ns met with in those two Cases, as by any other Instance, the Memorialists have thought fit to mention. Let us suppose for once, that in the Aylesbury Case, the Bailiffs that denied the Complainants their Right of Voting at the Election were for the Church, and the others that asserted their Right not of the Church; and again, those that maintained the Cause of the Bailiffs in refusing their Votes were High-Church-men, and those that defended the Right of the others were

no *Church-men*. Yet still we must find out a way to prove that the *Church* cannot Err, and that those *Church-men* are the *Church*, or else those that call themselves *English-men*, will not yield that those that call themselves *Church-men* can do them no wrong. If the *Rights* of *Englishmen* can interfere with those of *Church-men*, it will be hard to persuade the one to give up their *Rights* and *Privileges*, because the others that call themselves the *Church* demand them; They will first be better assured that the *Church* has such *Rights* and *Powers* annex'd to it, before they will be persuaded to give up any *English Privileges*.

Now it is the Right of *English-men* to be represented in Parliament by Men of their own Electing; and it is already settled who these *Electors* shall be. *Freeholders* of such an Income have *Rights* to Elect for *Counties*; and generally in Corporations there are such *Electors* whose *Rights* were never questioned. These are *Privileges* as much settled as any other *Rights* are: And 'tis not in the Power of a H---- of C---- to hinder a Man from enjoying them; it does not belong to them to judge whether a Man that has 40 s. *per Annum* Freehold, has a Vote at *Elections*: It is a Right fixed already by *Antient Law*, which one part of the *Legislature* only has no power to alter. That the Right of Judging of *Elections* is in the H---- of C----ns, and also of the Right of the *Electors*, where any doubt arises about either, is not denied; but to decide whether a *Freeholder* of such a Value has a *Right*, is not in their *Power*, because they can't hinder him from his Vote, if he can prove his Right to his *Estate*. For if they can decide whether a Man of 500 l. *per Annum* has a *Vote* or not, they can decide whether he has any *Estate* or not; and if they can take away his Right to one, they may dispose of the other; which is such a precarious Tenure, that *Freeholders* of *England* would not be very thankful for.

Now if these must be called unalienable *Rights*, while the old *Constitution* lasts, if a Man is debar'd from exercising these *Rights* by *Violence*, or a malicious Refusal in those that are to take his *Vote* at *Elections*, he has certainly an *Injury* done him; And where shall he have it redress'd? Certainly in some Court that can make him a *Recompence* for his *Injuries*. The H---- of C---- can restore him his *Vote*, and order it shall stand Good if the *Election* be Controverted. But the *Damages* he has sustain'd by loss of time in seeking for Redress, and the Charges he has been at, in the Matter, must be repaired in a Court of *Judicature*, that has a *Power* to give *Costs* for all such *Damages*. For a Man's *Injury* is not the less, whether the *Election* is Controverted or not; and whether the *Parliament* sits or not; he must have an *Action* somewhere, or else there may be a great *Injury* done; and yet no *Remedy* provided for it.

And this I take to be the Case of the *Aylesbury Men*; and it all proceeded upon the *Injuries* done those that were maliciously denied their fix'd *Rights*; so that those that endeavour'd to defend them in the recovering their *Rights*, and in repairing their *Injuries*, did great Service to their *Country*; and if the best *Englishmen* are the best *Church-men*, their *Title* is certainly unquestionable.

But this Case has been so well stated by much greater Men than the *Memorialists* and my self, that we shall have little reason to value our selves for making Converts on one side or the other.

The Business of the *Tack* carries something more of a plausible Pretence in it for the Good of the *Church*, because 'twas done for the sake of the *Occasional Bill*, but whether the Good of the *Church* was intended or not, 'tis certain that can never be really for the Good of the *Church*, which would have been an Injury to the Nation, and tended to the Subverting of the *Constitution*.

It is pretended that one Design of giving Money is the Redress of *Grievances*, and since the H — of C — gave the Money, they may take the most *Effectual* ways they can think of for *Redressing* them, and since there was no way but *Tacking* that Redress to a *Money Bill*, it is thought not only *Justifiable* but *Honourable* in them that did it.

But to make it *Justifiable*, it must be proved that the L — ds are not proper Judges of every *Bill* the C — ns send them; but that cannot be said even of a *Money Bill*, for the L — ds may certainly chuse whether they will consent to that. But yet when a *Money Bill* is so reasonable and even so necessary that it cannot be drop'd without manifest Danger to the Nation; it is a visible *Invasion* on the Right of the L — ds, to *Tack* another *Bill* under the Notion of *Grievances*, which the L — ds can't consent to, and yet must be obliged to pass it, unless they will throw out the *Money Bill*. That the *Lords* have as much right to judge of *Grievances* as the C — ns, is not to be disputed; but to have a *Bill* thrust upon them under a Notion that 'tis to redress *Grievances*, which the L — ds can't see, but rather think will increase *Grievances*, is to take from them the Liberty of judging which belongs to them as a House, and is really putting them under the Power of the C — ns.

But those Matters are foreign to the Cause of the *Church*, and one would have thought they should have been foreign to the Purpose of the *Memorial* too, unless the mentioning of them had been more for the Honour of the *Party*.

Could the *Memorialists* have found out any real Designs carrying on against the *Church*, certainly they would never have offered to amuse their Readers at this rate. For that is a certain sign that they are sensible that their Cause is bad, or that their Readers are not Judges.

These Gentlemen, speaking of the Whigs, are pleased to say, That it will be hard for 'em to persuade us, that we are in no danger, while they press us every Session of Parliament, with their *Apprehensions* of the *Papists*, who, tho' our Enemies are inconsiderable for Number or Power, compared with the *Fanaticks*, who are equally inveterate Enemies of the *Church*, and more of the *Monarchical Government*.

I wish the *Papists* were no more Enemies to the *Church*, and at no greater a distance from it in their Religion than the *Dissenters* are; and I wish also it could be made appear, that they were not more Inveterate Enemies to any Protestant *Monarchical Government*, that gives not the least Suspicion of being influenced by *Popish Councils*. And could it be proved that they had not more Power to do us Mischief than the *Presbyterians* have, the Nation would be troubled much less with the *Apprehensions* of Dangers from them. The

Number

Number of them amongst our selves is not perhaps very Considerable, unless we judge of them by their *Friendships* and *Alliances*, and then I am afraid it will appear they are not so weak as to be overlook'd. The favourable Accounts that are given of the Innocency and Incapacity of the *Papists* to hurt us, and the representing them so much less formidable than the *Presbyterians*, by some that will yet tell us that they are not *Papists*, nor disposed to a *Popish Successor*, is a shrewd Sign that they are not hated by them; and is a very good reason for our being apprehensive of their *Growth* and our *Dangers* from them. Especially when we think of their *Interests* abroad, the Mighty *Popish Power* that's armed against us, and their Obligations to wish all manner of *Success* to the greatest and strongest Enemy the *Protestant Religion* ever knew; whose Heart is as much set upon advancing the *Interest* of *Popery*, and settling a *Popish Government* in this Nation, as it is upon *Universal Empire*. And yet we are told, notwithstanding this vast Strength on the side of *Popery*, notwithstanding this same Strength is engaged to force a *Popish Governour* upon us, and notwithstanding there are a large Party besides *Papists*, that think themselves bound in Conscience to assert his Right; and many others are so far Abettors, as not to profess any Dislike of the *Principles* and *Writings* of those Men; notwithstanding all this appearance of Danger, from open Force and secret Design, we are assured that the Apprehensions of the *Papists* are not near so Dreadful as of the Fanaticks. I shall not dispute the small Apprehensions some Men have of *Popery* and a *Popish Successor*. They can conquer all Fears of that kind, except the Fears of their not coming amongst us.

But whence do these terrible Apprehensions of the *Fanaticks* arise? The *Memorial* assures us, that the whole Strength they have in our *Fleets* and *Armies*, won't amount to a single Company: How then are they able to strike us with all this Terror? Will *Geneva* Arm its mighty State against us, or from what Parts of the World are their Expectations, that we are thus *Alarm'd*?

Is their Power so great within our own *Bowels*, that we have just Reasons to be afraid of being devoured by them? Or are the *Scots* so much their Friends, that they will be ready to throw in their Forces to their Assistance upon the first Invitation? Or will the *Low-Church-men* joyn them to the pulling down of the *Church*?

All this may be said but without the least Shadow of Probability; If we grant that the *S-----ts* are in a good measure our *Enemies*, yet it does not in the least appear that they are so upon the account of our *Church*, for many of them are well affected to it, and express not the least Aversion to the re-settling *Episcopacy* amongst themselves; and indeed none of their Complaints against us, even of the rigidest *Presbyterians* amongst them, proceed upon our Differences with them in *Ecclesiastical Matters*.

But the *Presbyterians* both here and in *Scotland* hate the *Church*, and would rejoyce to see her in Ruins; and the *Dismal Experience* we had of their *Tenderness* when they got us down, bids every *Honest English-man* be upon his Guard, especially the *Church-men*, who must expect no Quarter.

All this would be to the purpose, if the *Presbyterians* were the only Men engaged in our *Civil Wars* against the King; or if the *Wars* broke out only at

at the dislike and aversion to the *Church*. But as there were numbers of other sort of Men in that *Rebellion*; and as my Lord *Clarendon* tells us; Few of those that begun those Commotions were at all disaffected to the *Church*, so there were other *Grievances* that were complained of, and that gave rise to all the Heats and Commotions that followed. Indeed the *Church* suffered in the End, and the *Presbyterians* were generally drawn in to that side by the pretence of new *Modelling* the Ecclesiastical Constitution. But that was more to strengthen their *Party*, than out of any real dislike to the *Church*; as now the same *Politicks* are revived, though with another turn; and a Cry is made for the *Church* not so much out of a real Esteem for Her, as to secure a large Interest among the People by it. And when there are once Numbers enough herded together, with a pretence of Saving and supporting a *Falling Church*, an opportunity may fairly offer it self for some Men to do some very acceptable Services to the P. of W.

The Hierarchy was then very soon struck at, but it was more out of dislike and hatred to some particular *Bishops*, than out of an aversion to *Episcopacy* it self. And even the very same thing may happen again by pretences of Zeal for the *Church*. For 'tis verily believed, that some Men's Aversion, even *Church-men*, for so are they called, to the *Bishops* would permit them to see *Episcopacy* it self destroyed, if they could involve them in its ruins.

The open Declarations that came out of the Mouths of some Men not very long ago, against the *Bishops* Vote in *Parliament*, and the Overt *Acts* against their Rights, by a *Party* in *Convocation*, with other attempts upon the Privileges which have always belonged to *Bishops* of the *Church*, is too plain an Intimation that they that have used them after this manner, are not so much Friends to *Episcopacy*, as they are Enemies to the *Bishops*. And that for the sake of gratifying their Resentments, they can be so indifferent in their concern for the *Church*, is to Act as if they cared but little what became of Her. The ill Treatment of *Bishops* and the sinking their Characters, must also fall upon the *Church*, and prove a very great Prejudice to Her. But some Men have the Art of reconciling any practice of theirs to the Interest of the *Church* though it be never so opposite to it.

The representing *Archbishop Laud*, (and some others) as *Popishly* affected set on a *Party* against him, to that degree of Violence, that nothing under his Head would satisfy their aversions to him. If the Stories told of many of the present *Bishops* being *Presbyterians*, may not, 'tis to be hoped produce such fatal effects, they are yet equally *True*; for 'twould be every whit as easy a Task to prove *Archbishop Laud* a *Papist*, as the greatest part of the present *Bishops*, *Presbyterians*; and if we may Judge of that Prelate's Zeal for the *Church*, by his adherence to its *Articles* (which sure is one Test of a *Church* man, or else there would never have been such a stir about them) we can hardly prefer his Zeal for the *Church* as Superior to that of others. For he is allowed at least as great *Latitude* in interpreting the *Articles*, as any *Bishops* have ever done since in their *Exposition* of them: And he passed severer Censures

on some in his time, that were for pressing the necessity of believing them, in that which they thought was the true and natural *Sense*, than perhaps could have been justified, if they had interpreted them in a contrary *Sense*. Tho' indeed he came not up to the Humour of those that can Condemn an *Interpretation*, which alone can justify the meaning which *themselves* put upon them.

This unreasonable hatred to some *Bishops* in a great Measure help'd heretofore to ruin the *Church*; and 'tis strange that some should think the like behaviour should now help to secure *Her*. I pray God it may not have the same fatal effect, the Subversion in the end of both *Church and State*.

Many of the *Presbyterian* reasons for destroying *Episcopacy* were founded upon a dislike to the Practices and Principles of the *Bishops*. And what's the Difference in the *High-Church party*, they inveigh against the *Bishops* just after the same manner; and what they would do with *Episcopacy* itself, could they not have *Bishops* of their own make and Temper; I hope will never be put to the Tryal.

The *Presbyterians* I grant have greater aversion to our *Ecclesiastical Constitution* in General, (tho' I am not positive, that they appear not as often within our Churches, as some that place their Zeal for the *Church*, in constantly railing at *Dissenters*;) and I doubt not they would be well enough pleased to see the *National Church, Presbyterian*. But I can't think them so mad as to have formed any Scheme of making it so, because 'tis altogether Impracticable. They have neither strength within or without the *Island* for such a Project; nor can I imagine they have a will to run the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes for the sake of a Religion, which they may enjoy quietly without fears of being molested in the practice of it. I can't tell to what desperate attempts the threats of Persecutions may provoke Men, but I don't find that ever the *Presbyterians* had any such Aversion to the Church of *England*, as to rise up against the Government only for the Establishing *Presbytery* in its stead, when they had no more Jealousies than they have now of the Governments taking their *Liberty of Conscience* from them. And tho' I would be no Patron for the *Dissenters*, because I think them a very unreasonable and an over scrupulous sort of Men in making a *Separation* from us, yet I must say so much in their defence, That they never set themselves so virulently against their *Superiors*, nor ever attempted to stir up the People against them, upon such small grounds for Suspensions and Fears, as some that call themselves *High-Church-men* have done, against the present Government. And if any one will take a Review of *Her Majesty's* Conduct through *Her* whole Life, *Her* Zeal and Firmness to the Church before, and *Her* Zeal and Kindness to it since *Her* Advancement to the Throne; and will also take the pains to read over the Libels and wicked Scandals thrown out against *Her* Administration by these same *High-Church-men*, He will find this too much demonstration.

But the *Memorialists* to absolve *Her Majesty*, suppose only that *She* is *Mis-informed and Mised*; That *She* may have a *Will to Serve the Church*, but be destitute of *Power to do it*.

And

And this to be sure these *Loyal* Gentlemen think is no affront upon Her Majesty: They mean nothing at all against Her, when they represent Her throwing the Reins of *Government* unthinkingly out of Her own hands into theirs, who will both ruin Her and the Church by their Mismanagement of them. They pity Her no doubt to be thus Abused, and led Blind-fold quite contrary to Her Intentions, just as the *Faction* of old did, when they Exclaim'd against ill *Councillors*, with all sorts of dutiful Expressions to His Majesty, but yet when they had gained their wicked Will on the *Ministry*, and secured them to their hearts Content, they thought it very necessary to, to lay the *Royal Head* as low as the worst of His Servants. The Mutiny generally begins at the *Ministry*, but always points at, and intends the *Supream Power*.

Could these Men bereave their *Sovereign* of Her Faithful and Able Servants, She would then indeed be left *desitute* enough of *Power*, and what sort of *Treatment* She would then meet with from those that are always inveighing against them, I'll not pretend to guess, because I hope She's never likely to Experience it.

Her Majesty's seeming disregard of this unusual Contempt and Insolence towards Her Self and *Government*, has supplied them with Confidence to call in question Her Care and Concernedness about all other Affairs; as Wicked Men argue against the Interposel of *Providence* in the Government of the World, because themselves have hitherto escaped Unpunished. But there are proper times for Vengeance to take place, and they will be found in the end to be none of the Wisest, that go on to provoke and defy the *Power*, because they can boast of present *Impunity*.

And now, what is the difference between the *Loyalty* of *Presbyterians*, and these *High-Church-men*? These tell us, That the other are Enemies to *Monarchy*; and it plainly appears, that themselves are Enemies to all *Monarchs* that don't please, nor study to gratify them. And I don't believe that the *Presbyterians* would be disloyal, as much haters as they are of *Monarchy*, upon any other accounts. If any *Prince* would comply with their *Humours*, they would be as Loyal and Dutiful as the *Highest Church-man* can be. Nay, it may be believed, That much less would content them, and that they would be very Good Subjects, upon less endeavours to Gratify them, than have been used to Gratify the Church of *England*.

Indeed the Principles of these *High-Church-men*, and of the *Presbyterians* differ about the measure of *Obedience*; but they that differ in *Theory*, don't always differ in *Practice*. And some that are very zealous for unlimited *Obedience*, are yet as forward to act against it. They would confine all others, but they find it requisite to be left at *Liberty* themselves. If themselves have the sole Management, they think *Passive Obedience* can't be stretch'd too far; but if they are Excluded, tho' neither oppress nor persecuted, if we may judge by their *Actions* and *Writings*, they can't be persuaded, that any sort of *Obedience* is due. For my part, I should think it more for our Safety and Honour, to make our *Actions* and *Pre-*

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tences agreeable; and not brag of greater Degrees of *Submission*, than even the Nature of *High-Church-men* themselves can bear. Indeed we can't pay too Extensive an Obedience to a Good Prince, that consults the Good and Happiness of the People; but 'tis very necessary, as these Church-men know, to be under reserves in case of a bad one.

If any Act of Undutifulness towards Her present Majesty can be justified, there has never been any *Resistance* of a Prince hitherto, but what is capable of a just Vindication. But these Men that run into the highest Strains of *Passive Obedience*, at the same time throw out all manner of Reproaches and undutiful Expressions on Her Majesty; which not many Ages ago would have been proved *High Treason*. They plead indeed the Dangers of the Church, which ought to be of as great Concern as any *Civil Rights*. But then, why have they tyed up themselves by Preferences to Notions and Principles which condemn their Practices? Had the Dangers been as real as they represent them, yet it would be hard for them to reconcile their manner of opposing them to their Doctrines of absolute *unconditioned Obedience*. So that either they should renounce their Doctrines, or disown their Practices. But if they are not ashamed of either, 'tis too plain a Sign that they retain their Notions, only the better to cover their farther Designs.

But what shall we say, if those Fears are all *Imaginary*, or rather *Counterfeit*; and that there is not the least Grounds for those unmannerly Complaints of the Dangers of the Church? What Excuse shall we make for those that hold *Resistance* unlawful in any Case, if they Mutiny against their Prince upon no sort of reason? For upon a Review of the Dangers of the Church, it does not appear, that all their Heat about it, has produced any one Argument for their *Suspitions*; but some Men being put out of Places, and others put in their rooms; they tell us indeed, that those that are dismiss'd are true Church-men, and those that succeed them are not so. But they bring no Proof of this; and the reason is plain, because 'tis certain that the former have no better Pretensions to be called Church-men than the other. 'Tis certainly for the Interest of the Crown to uphold and protect the Church, and consequently 'tis the Interest of all those that are dependent upon it; and while it is so, as it will always be, as well as 'tis Her Majesty's known Principle, to make it Her First and Chief Care; it can't be in any Danger from the Court; and therefore those that represent the Court, or any of those that are influenc'd by it, as designing to Ruin or Betray the Church, can do it upon no better an account, than to raise *Distractions* and *Tumults* in the Kingdom. And therefore can be look'd upon only as common *Incendiaries*. They tell the People, That Her Majesty has withdrawn Her Countenance from the Church-men, and by degrees almost all that adher'd firmly to the Church are drove from about Her Person. That some Persons had a Design to guard all the Avenues to the Queen with their own Creatures, and to exclude the poor declining Church, and its Friends, from all manner of Access to Her. That the present Prospects of the Church is very Melancholly, and that

of the Government is not much more Comfortable. That the Ministers are resolved by Force to make the Ch---b truckle to the Faction, whose Favourers are generally put into Places.

These are very proper Expressions to move the People to Sedition; but the Falseness of the Charge is known to every body, that knows how these Gentlemen, that are here called *No-Church-men*, have acted in Parliament in behalf of the Church, where the Good of the Church was visibly Concerned. They vigorously opposed a Bill of the *Quakers*, which if pass'd, would have proved very prejudicial to the Clergy, with relation to their Dues; they were most ready to exempt the poorer Clergy from Taxes, and were most officious in proposing Methods for Augmenting their Revenues, with many other good Offices done by them for the Benefit of the Church and Clergy. And if that one single Point can be clearly made out, that the *Occasional Bill* is for the Advantage of either, I dare be positive, that these very *Low-Church-men* will be as forward as any Men whatever to promote it.

But some Men, let them do never so many good Turns to the Church, and appear never so frequently in it, yet have not the Arts of Insinuating themselves into the Favour of some of the Clergy, or of gaining a tolerable Character from them; while others that can propose Bills that are apparently to their Disservice, and oppose those that are for their Advantage, have yet found out ways of standing always very fair in their Good Graces.

I perfectly agree with the *Memorial*, That abundance of Knavish Pains have been taken, to divide the Ch---b into High and Low; and some even of the Ecclesiasticks have been so foolish, as to go into that dangerous Distinction, contrived by their Enemies, on purpose to divide and set them together by the Ears. For I do verily believe, that those Distinctions were raised and spread about by the Enemies both of the Church and Government. But the *Memorialists* have the least reason to complain of them, for their Friends have been no losers by them, even among the Clergy themselves. For the Clergy generally interpreted a *High-Church-man* to be the only true Church-man, and the *Low-Church-men* to be no Church-men; and so they have generally pass'd throughout the Nation, to the Deceiving very many People that wish'd well to the Church, and to the Disadvantage of many worthy Gentlemen that have done Great Services to it. And a late Writer on the *Memorial* side, has fetch'd in all the Help of Logic, to prove that the Distinction is rightly interpreted, i. e. That *High* and *Low*, signify *True Church-men*, and *No Church-men*; and indeed he has proved it as far as any Man can do, that can defend a Position without Reason, and prove it without Argument.

I am not unwilling to allow, That if the strict Observation of the Rubrick and Canons denominates a Man a *High-Church-man*, every Presbyter of the Ch---ch of E---d, is, or ought to be a *High-Ch---ch-man*. But then I hope we may add, That a deference and dutiful Respect to our Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors should make part of the Character. And if

if the *Character* of a *Highb-Church-man*, is to be known by these *Marks* I should be for agreeing, that none should go by that Name, but in whom those Marks are to be found; but then the *Highb-Church-men*, as they are now called, must change their Name: because the *Character* can't belong to them. And the *Low-Church-men* must be obliged to assume it, which they would not be unwilling to do upon the afore-said *Conditions*. Let but that *Interpretation* always go along with the Name, and if that would Gratifie the *Highb-Church Men*, I know a great Number that would be extremely pleas'd with it, and heartily thank them for the Change.

But I must not over-look one of the Greatest *Complaints* of the *Dangers* of the *Church*; and that is the Use of the *Specious* and *Fashionable* Word, *Moderation*, so often recommended of late from the *Throne*. By which the *People* have been so very much deluded, and by which the *Church* is in the utmost danger.

If the *People* are deluded by this, it is their own faults; but they are those that tell them, That *Moderation* is used to bring Men to an *Indifference* to the *Church*, and its *Interest*, and to abandon all *Care* and *Solicitude* for its *Security*; that deceive and impose upon them; and if the *Church* is in danger, it is brought into it by the heat and violence of some Men, that pretend to serve it. *Intemperate Zeal* never did the *Church* any *Service*; it gave advantages to its *Enemies* before, and where-ever it has been ruined, it was that furious misguided *Zeal* that very much occasioned it; by giving the first handle to its *Enemies*. Men may be won by gentle methods, but will always oppose, as far as they are able, those that are *Violent*. And those that set on such a method, may be called *Zealots*, but are not real *Friends* to the *Church*.

The *Memorialists* challenge these *Moderate Men* to Explain what is the *Moderation* they require; for they know none they can mean, unless it be *Indifference* to the *Church*.

One would think it should not have been very difficult to have known what is meant by *Moderation*, after all the *Sermons* and *Discourses* that have been publish'd, of *Bp. Wilkins*, *A. B. Tillotson*, *Dr. Whiteboot*, and many other *Learned* and *Pious Men* about it. I know no *Moderation* requir'd or preach'd by the *Moderate Men*, but such as the *Scripture* requires; and that is *Gentleness* and *Forbearance*, by *Meekness* endeavouring to gain those that oppose themselves, and that differ in their opinions. And all this is very *Consistent* with a true and hearty *Zeal* for the *Church*; which has not been once shewn that those *Moderate Men* ever wanted upon just and proper *Occasions*.

But these Men of all others should least complain of their want of *Zeal*, for their Excess of it has appear'd in nothing so much, as in their endeavours to gratifie an ungrateful and mutable Company of Men whom no Favour will ever oblige. Tho' on the other side, they ought to be thankful for their want of *Zeal* to chastise their Insolence and Ingratitude. But one would think that those that ought to feel the Effects

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of it, should not be the Men that should quicken them. They may soon enough find, that Punishments that are long a coming, are not less certain, nor fall with less Severity. And indeed the Dangers which both Church and State are in, require that some Effectual Check should be put to the *Fatious Humours* that occasioned them. Moderation towards the *Turbulent and Unquiet* part of Mankind is certainly far enough from being a Vertue. And who those are, 'tis to be hoped the *Memorialists* will be convinced, by other ways, than by plain reasons. For as stiff and resolute as they seem to be, there are *Arguments* that can make them sensible.

As for other Moderation, such as the Scripture requires, I know no True Church-man, or True Christian need be ashamed of it. There can be no such thing as right Zeal without it; and for those that cry it down, let their pretences be what they will, 'tis certain they have some other Ends to serve than the Good of the Church. Moderation (*moderatus*) in the most proper signification of it, is *Aquitas*, that which is just and right: the doing by others as we would desire they should do by us, if we were in their Circumstances. Which enjoyns us to use *Protestant Dissenters* among our selves, (as we are obliged by that vertue with Respect to them) as we would desire our selves to be used, if we were in other *Protestant Countries*. And if any are against such a Moderation, let their Zeal be what it will, they neither consult the Honour or Interest of the Church, nor answer the intencion of Christianity. If they can shew us any Instances of a furious zeal, joy'd with a hatred to the Persons of Men, and with a perpetual Railling at them, ever making any True Converts to the Church, or being preferred as proper to that End in the Gospel, they will then offer us something like an Argument for laying aside Moderation in such Cases, as at best an Unnecessary Vertue. But if the contrary is apparent, if such a zeal never attained those Ends, we shall think it absolutely necessary to retain the *Kennel* of Moderation as very useful to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the World, and to promote the Interest and Welfare of the Church.

And therefore I shall End these Papers with an Observation of our late Wise and Excellent Prince, A. B. T. upon this Vertue, in his Preface to Dr. *William's Sermons*. Where speaking of that Good and Learned Bishop, I purposely (says He) mention his Moderation, and likewise adventure to commend him for it; notwithstanding that this Vertue so much esteemed and magnified by Wise Men in all Ages, hath of late been de-claimed against with so much acrimony and fierceness, and yet with such Good Grace and Confidence, as if it were not only the Vertue, but even the Sum and Abridgement of all Vertues. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion; That Moderation is a Vertue, and one of the peculiar Ornaments and Advantages of the Excellent Constitution of our Church, and must at last be the Temper of our Members, especially the Clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm Establishment of this Church, and do not industriously desire by civilising Heats and Divisions among our selves, to let in Popery at these breaches.

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